

POLITICAL DELIBERATION
COMMUNICATION 555 (WINTER 2006)
Course Times: T/Th 3:30-5:20 Classroom: CMU 321

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COURSE SUMMARY

This course reviews recent theory and research on political deliberation in a wide range of settings ranging from small group discussions to large-scale public forums to print, electronic, and on-line media. The course's primary objective is to teach you how to read and write empirical research on public deliberation. After completing the course, you should be familiar with many current perspectives on deliberation, you will better understand the relationship between moral claims, empirical claims, and research, and you will know how to complete a scholarly research paper.

PROJECTS

This course is what I call a "project-based seminar." The nine students taking this seminar are working on six discrete projects. You will learn at least as much by doing your project *and observing your colleagues work through theirs* as you will from doing the readings and discussing them in class. The entire course is designed to ensure the successful completion of these six projects. (Note that the end of the reading list has a section showing previous writings based on datasets used in A1, A3, and B1-2.

- Project A1. Gender and a student discussion of sexual harassment (Amoshaun Toft & Brandon Bosch)
- Project A2. Patterns of attitude change in deliberative polling (Chiara Bacci & Michael Dollinger)
- Project A3. Citizen deliberation on initiatives (Chris Wells & Justin Reedy)
- Project B1. How jurors describe jury service (Leah Sprain)
- Project B2. Diversity and the jury experience (Andrea Hickerson)
- Project B3. Experts and citizen deliberation at public meetings (Kevin Ramsey)
- Project B4. Comparison of deliberative methods or other project TBA (Ian Conway)

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING

The bulk of your grade will be based on the quality of a scholarly article or research proposal you write during the quarter. This paper will be the synthesis and extension of six short pieces written throughout the quarter. On-time and satisfactory completion of each of the six papers accounts for 5% of your final grade, and the overall quality of the final paper accounts for 50% of the final grade. The emphasis in the short papers is clear and complete exposition of ideas/methods, whereas I evaluate the final paper using the full set of criteria of any scholarly reviewer, including scholarly rigor, organization, quality of writing, effective use of references, formatting style, etc.

Participation in class accounts for the remaining 20% of each student's grade. Half of the participation grade comes from the on-time satisfactory completion of one-page reaction papers, with the other half coming from active and helpful participation in class discussions.

SCHEDULE

Date	Discussion Topic	Preparation
Week 1		
January 3	Overview of Quarter	[none]
January 5	Philosophical origins	Readings and reaction page
Week 2		
January 10	National Issues Forums	Readings and reaction page
January 12	<i>Projects: Sample and data features</i>	1-2 page summary of dataset
Week 3		
January 17	Deliberative Polling	Readings and reaction page
January 19	Deliberative elections and WA-CIR	Readings and reaction page
Week 4		
January 24	The Civic Impact of Jury Deliberation	Readings and reaction page
January 26	Cultural difference and deliberation	Readings and reaction page
Week 5		
January 31	Citizens, experts, and elected officials	Readings and reaction page
February 2	<i>Projects: Hypothesized variable relationships</i>	2-3 page specification of hypotheses (direction and magnitude), with diagrams if appropriate
Week 6		
February 7	Citizens Jury and Assembly Processes	Readings and reaction page
February 9	<i>Projects: Theoretical justification and relevance of hypotheses</i>	2-3 page justification of hypotheses with references; explains why results could be expected and their importance for deliberation research/practice
Week 7		
February 14	Mediated deliberation and public journalism	Readings and reaction page
February 16	<i>Projects: Data and operationalization</i>	2-3 page description of operational methods with descriptive stats and notes (power, reliability, etc.)
Week 8		
February 21	Deliberation Day	Readings and reaction page
February 23	<i>Projects: Statistical approach</i>	1-2 page description of what statistical methods will test each hypothesis
Week 9		
February 28	Macro deliberation: Bringing together different deliberative forms	Readings and reaction page
March 2	International deliberation	Readings and reaction page
Week 10		
March 7	<i>Projects: Analyses for A1-A3</i>	3-5 pages summarizing results of statistical tests of hypotheses, including tables/figures as appropriate
March 9	<i>Projects: Analyses for B1-B4</i>	
Finals Week		
March 16	No class	Combine writings into final paper

READINGS

The required readings will be available in a reading packet at Ram's Copy Shop (4144 University Way NE, Seattle, Washington - Phone: 206-632-6630). I have PDF or book copies of many of the other readings, which are simply provided here to aid your specific projects or future reference.

JANUARY 5 PHILOSOPHICAL ORIGINS

Required readings

- Burkhalter, Stephanie, John Gastil, and Todd Kelshaw. 2002. "A Conceptual Definition and Theoretical Model of Public Deliberation in Small Face-to-Face Groups." *Communication Theory* 12: 398-422.
- Carpini, Michael X. Delli, Fay Lomax Cook, and Lawrence R. Jacobs. 2004. "Public Deliberation, Discursive Participation, and Citizen Engagement: A Review of the Empirical Literature." *Annual Review of Political Science* 7: 315-344.
- Chambers, Simone. 2003. "Deliberative Democratic Theory." *Annual Review of Political Science* 6: 307-326.
- Cohen, Joshua. 1989. *Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy*. In Pettit, Philip, and Alan Hamlin, *The Good Polity*. New York: Basil Blackwell.

Further reading

- Abelson, Julia, Pierre-Gerlier Forest, John Eyles, Patricia Smith, Elisabeth Martin, and Francois-Pierre Gauvin. 2003. "Deliberations About Deliberative Methods: Issues in the Design and Evaluation of Public Participation Processes." *Social Science & Medicine* 57: 239-251.
- Arkes, H. 1993. "Can emotion supply the place of reason? Comments on the chapters on passion and tolerance." In G. E. Marcus & R. L. Hanson (Eds.), *Reconsidering the democratic public* (pp. 287-305). University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Barber, Benjamin R. 1984. *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bavetta, Sebastiano, and Francesco Guala. 2003. "Autonomy-Freedom and Deliberation ." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 15: 423-443.
- Benhabib, Seyla. 1996. "Toward a Deliberative Model of Democratic Legitimacy." In Seyla Benhabib, *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political* (pp. 67-94). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Besley, John C., and Katherine A. McComas. 2005. "Framing Justice: Using the Concept of Procedural Justice to Advance Political Communication Research." *Communication Theory* 15: 414-436.
- Bickford, Susan. 1996. "Beyond Friendship: Aristotle on Conflict, Deliberation, and Attention." *Journal of Politics* 58: 298-421.
- Bohman, James F. 1990. "Communication, Ideology, and Democratic Theory." *American Political Science Review* 84: 93-109.
- Bohman, James F. 1996. *Public Deliberation: Pluralism, Complexity, and Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Brink, David O. 1992. "Mill's Deliberative Utilitarianism." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 2: 67-103.
- Chambers, Simone. 2004. "Behind Closed Doors: Publicity, Secrecy, and the Quality of Deliberation." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 12: 389-410.
- Cohen, Joshua, and Joel Rogers. 1983. *On Democracy*. New York: Penguin.
- Cohen, Joshua. 1997. "Procedure and Substance in Deliberative Democracy." James Bohman and William Rehg, *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Dahl, Robert. 1989. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. (pp. 106-120)
- Doxtader, Erik. 1995. "Learning Public Deliberation Through the Critique of Institutional Argument." *Argumentation and Advocacy* 31: 185-203.

- Dryzek, John S. 1990. *Discursive democracy : politics, policy, and political science*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dryzek, John S. 2000. *Deliberative democracy and beyond: Liberals, critics, contestations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dryzek, John S., and Christian List. 2003. "Social Choice Theory and Deliberative Democracy: A Reconciliation." *British Journal of Political Science* 33: 1-28.
- Elkin, Stephen L. 2004. "Thinking Constitutionally: The Problem of Deliberative Democracy." *Social Philosophy & Policy* 21: 39-75.
- Esquith, Stephen L. and Richard T. Peterson. 1988. "The Original Position As Social Practice." *Political Theory* 16: 300-34.
- Fearon, James D. 1998. "Deliberation As Discussion." In Jon Elster, *Deliberative Democracy* (pp. 45-67). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Finkel, Steven E. 1985. "Reciprocal Effects of Participation and Political Efficacy: A Panel Analysis." *American Journal of Political Science* 29: 891-913.
- Fott, David. 1991. "John Dewey and the Philosophical Foundations of Democracy." *Social Science Journal* 28: 29-44.
- Fraser, Nancy. 1986. "Toward a Discourse Ethic of Solidarity." *Praxis International* 5: 425-29.
- Fung, Archon. 2003. "Survey Article: Recipes for Public Spheres: Eight Institutional Design Choices and Their Consequences." *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 11: 338-367.
- Galston, William A. 1991. *Liberal Purposes: Goods, Virtues, and Diversity in the Liberal State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gastil, John, and William M. Keith. 2005. A Nation That (Sometimes) Likes to Talk: A Brief History of Public Deliberation in the United States. In Gastil, John, and Peter Levine, Editors, *The Deliberative Democracy Handbook*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Gilbert, Pablo. 2005. "The Substantive Dimension of Deliberative Practical Rationality." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 31: 185-210.
- Goodin, Robert E. 2000. "Democratic Deliberation Within." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 29: 81-109.
- Gutmann, Amy & Dennis Thompson. 2002. "Deliberative Democracy beyond Process." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 10:153-174.
- Gutmann, Amy and Dennis F. Thompson. 2004. *Why Deliberative Democracy?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gutmann, Amy, and Dennis Thompson. 1995. "Moral Disagreement in a Democracy." Ellen Frankel Paul, Fred D. Miller, and Jeffrey Paul, *Contemporary Political and Social Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Habermas, Jurgen. 1979. *Communication and the Evolution of Society*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, Jurgen. 1996. "Three Normative Models of Democracy." In Seyla Benhabib, *Democracy and Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hauptmann, Emily. 2001. "Can Less Be More? Leftist Deliberative Democrats' Critique of Participatory Democracy." *Polity* 33:397-421.
- Held, David. 1991. "The Possibilities of Democracy." *Theory & Society* 20: 875-89.
- Herbst, Susan. 1991. "Classical Democracy, Polls, and Public Opinion: Theoretical Frameworks for Studying the Development of Public Sentiment." *Communication Theory* 1: 225-38.
- Herbst, Susan. 1996. "Public Expression Outside the Mainstream." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 546: 120-31.
- Hershenov, David B. 2005 . "Two Epistemic Accounts of Democratic Legitimacy." *Polity* 37: 216-234.
- Knight, Jack, and James Johnson. 1994. "Aggregation and Deliberation: On the Possibility of Democratic Legitimacy." *Political Theory* 22: 277-96.
- Macedo, Stephen. (Ed.) 1999. *Deliberative politics: Essays on democracy and disagreement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Manin, Bernard. 1987. "On Legitimacy and Political Deliberation." *Political Theory* 15: 338-68.
- Mansbridge, Jane J. (1996). "Using power/fighting power: The polity." In S. Benhabib (Eds.), *Democracy and difference* (pp. 46-66). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Mansbridge, Jane J. 1983. *Beyond Adversary Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mansbridge, Jane J. 1990. "Feminism and Democracy." *American Prospect* 1(2): 126-39.
- Mansbridge, Jane J. 1996. "Reconstructing Democracy." Nancy J. Hirschmann and Christine Di Stefano, Eds., *Revising the Political: Feminist Reconstructions of Traditional Concepts in Western Political Theory*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Mansbridge, Jane. 2003. "Rethinking Representation." *American Political Science Review* 97: 515-528.
- Mathews, David. 1994. *Politics for People: Finding a Responsible Public Voice*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- McBride, Cillian. 2003. "Consensus, Legitimacy, and the Exercise of Judgement in Political Deliberation." *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy* 6: 104-128.
- McBride, Cillian. 2003. "Self-Transparency and the Possibility of Deliberative Politics." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 8: 289-310.
- McBride, Cillian. 2005. "Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Recognition." *Political Studies* 53: 497-515.
- Nino, Carlos Santiago. 1996. *The Constitution of Deliberative Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Orlie, Melissa A. 1994. "Thoughtless Assertion and Political Deliberation." *American Political Science Review* 88: 684-95.
- Parkinson, John, and Declan Roche. 2004. "Restorative Justice: Deliberative Democracy in Action?" *Australian Journal of Political Science* 39: 595-518.
- Parkinson, John. 2003. "Legitimacy Problems in Deliberative Democracy." *Political Studies* 51: 180-196.
- Parkinson, John. 2004. "Hearing Voices: Negotiating Representation Claims in Public Deliberation." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6: 370-388.
- Pateman, Carole. 1970. *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pearce, W. Barnett, and Stephen W. Littlejohn. 1997. *Moral Conflict: When Social Worlds Collide*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pearce, W. Barnett, and Stephen W. Littlejohn. 1997. *Moral Conflict: When Social Worlds Collide*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. (Chapters 1-3, 5-6)
- Pellizzoni, Luigi. 2001. "The Myth of the Best Argument: Power, Deliberation, and Reason." *British Journal of Sociology* 52:59-86.
- Phillips, Anne. 1996. "Dealing With Difference: A Politics of Ideas, or a Politics of Presence?" Seyla Benhabib, *Democracy and Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1993. "What Makes Democracy Work?" *National Civic Review* 82(2): 101-07.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1995a. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6(1): 65-78.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1995b. "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America." *PS: Political Science & Politics* (December): 664-683.
- Rostboll, Christian F. 2005. "Preferences and Paternalism - On Freedom and Deliberative Democracy." *Political Theory* 33: 370-396.
- Ryfe, David M. 2005. "Does Deliberative Democracy Work?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 8: 49-71.
- Sanders, Lynn M. 1997. "Against Deliberation." *Political Theory* 25: 347-76.
- Shapiro, Ian. 2002. "Optimal Deliberation?" *Journal of Political Philosophy* 10:196-211.
- Sunstein, Cass R. 2005. "Group Judgments: Statistical Means, Deliberation, and Information Markets." *New York University Law Review* 80: 962-1,049.
- Talisse, Robert B. 2004. "Towards a Peircean Politics of Inquiry." *Transactions of the Charles S. Pierce Society* 40: 21-38.
- Thompson, Simon, and Paul Hoggett. 2000. "The Emotional Dynamics of Deliberative Democracy." *Policy & Politics* 29:351-64.
- Urbinati, Nadia. 2000. "Representation As Advocacy: A Study of Democratic Deliberation." *Political Theory* 28:758-86.
- van Mill, David. 1996. "The Possibility of Rational Outcomes from Democratic Discourse and Procedures." *Journal of Politics* 58: 734-52.
- Walzer, Michael. 1991. "The Idea of Civil Society." *Dissent* 38: 293-304.

- Warren, Mark E. 1993. "Can Participatory Democracy Produce Better Selves? Psychological Dimensions of Habermas' Discursive Model of Democracy." *Political Psychology* 14: 209-34.
- Warren, Mark E. 1996. "Deliberative Democracy and Authority." *American Political Science Review* 90: 46-60.
- Warren, Mark E. 1996. "What Should We Expect From More Democracy? Radically Democratic Responses to Politics." *Political Theory* 24: 241-70.
- Weithman, Paul J. 1995. "Contractualist Liberalism and Deliberative Democracy." *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 24: 314-43.
- Weithman, Paul. 2005. "Deliberative Character." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 13: 263-283.

JANUARY 10 NATIONAL ISSUES FORUMS

Required readings

- Cappella, Joseph N., Vincent Price, and Lilach Nir. 2002. "Argument Repertoire As a Reliable and Valid Measure of Opinion Quality: Electronic Dialogue During Campaign 2000." *Political Communication* 19: 73-93.
- Gastil, John, and James P. Dillard. 1999. "Increasing Political Sophistication Through Public Deliberation." *Political Communication* 16: 3-23.
- Gastil, John. 2004. "Adult Civic Education Through the National Issues Forums: Developing Democratic Habits and Dispositions Through Public Deliberation." *Adult Education Quarterly* 54: 308-328.
- Melville, Keith, Taylor L. Willingham, and John R. Dedrick. 2005. National Issues Forums: A Network of Communities. In Gastil, John, and Peter Levine, Editors, *The Deliberative Democracy Handbook*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Further reading

- Bryan, Frank, and John McClaughry. 1989. *The Vermont Papers: Recreating Democracy on a Human Scale*. Port Mills, VT: Chelsea Green.
- Checkoway, B. 1981. "The Politics of Public Hearings." *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 17: 566-82.
- Chesebro, James W., John F. Cragan, and Patricia McCullough. 1973. "The Small Group Technique of the Radical Revolutionary: A Synthetic Study of Consciousness Raising." *Speech Monographs* 40: 136-46.
- Cook, Fay Lomax, Barabas, Jason, and Jacobs, Lawrence R. (1999, December). *Deliberative democracy in action: An analysis of the effects of public deliberation*. Unpublished manuscript, Northwestern University, Chicago, IL.
- Crosby, Ned. 1995. "Citizen Juries: One Solution for Difficult Environmental Questions." Ortwin Renn, Thomas Webler, and Peter Wiedemann, Eds., *Fairness and Competence in Citizen Participation: Evaluating Models for Environmental Discourse*. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- deLeon, Peter. 1995. "Democratic Values and the Policy Sciences." *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 886-905.
- Druckman, James N. 2004. "Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)Relevance of Framing Effects." *American Political Science Review* 98: 671-686.
- Einsiedel, Edna F., and Deborah L. Eastlick. 2000. "Consensus Conferences As Deliberative Democracy: A Communications Perspective." *Science Communication* 21: 323-43.
- Frost, Sheri, and Denis Makarov. 1998. "Changing Post-Totalitarian Values in Russia Through Public Deliberation Methodology." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 31: 775-81.
- Gastil, John, and James P. Dillard. 1999. "The Aims, Methods, and Effects of Deliberative Civic Education Through the National Issues Forums." *Communication Education* 48: 1-14.
- Gastil, John. 1993. *Democracy in Small Groups: Participation, Decision-Making, and Communication*. Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers.
- Gastil, John. 2000. *By Popular Demand: Revitalizing Representative Democracy Through Deliberative Elections*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (chapter 6: pp. 112-131)

- Gill, Alison M. 1996. "Rooms With a View: Informal Settings for Public Dialogue." *Society & Natural Resources* 9: 633-43.
- Halvorsen, Kathleen E. 2001. "Assessing Public Participation Techniques for Comfort, Convenience, Satisfaction, and Deliberation." *Environmental Management* 28:179-86.
- Leidner, Robin. 1993. "Constituency, Accountability, and Deliberation: Reshaping Democracy in the National Women's Studies Association." *NWSA Journal* 5: 4-27.
- Leighninger, Matt, and Martha McCoy. 1998. "Mobilizing Citizens: Study Circles Offer a New Approach to Citizenship." *National Civic Review* 87(2): 183-9.
- Mathews, David. 1994. *Politics for People: Finding a Responsible Public Voice*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Mendelberg, Tali, and John Oleske. 2000. "Race and Public Deliberation." *Political Communication* 17: 169-91.
- Morrell, Michael E. 1999. "Citizens' Evaluations of Participatory Democratic Procedures: Normative Theory Meets Empirical Science." *Political Research Quarterly* 52: 293-322.
- Oliver, Leonard P. 1987. *Study Circles*. Washington, DC: Seven Locks Press.
- Owens, Susan. 2000. "'Engaging the Public': Information and Deliberation in Environmental Policy." *Environment and Planning* 32: 1141-48.
- Pearce, W. Barnett, and Stephen W. Littlejohn. 1997. *Moral Conflict: When Social Worlds Collide*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. (Chapters 7-8)
- Price, V. & Cappella, J. (2001, May). Online deliberation and its influence: The electronic dialogue project in Campaign 2000. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Montreal, Canada.
- Rowe, Gene, and Lynn J. Frewer. 2000. "Public Participation Methods: A Framework for Evaluation." *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 25: 3-29.
- Ryfe, David Michael. 2002. "The Practice of Deliberative Democracy: A Study of 16 Deliberative Organizations." *Political Communication* 19:359-77.
- Sapiro, Virginia. 1990. "The Women's Movement and the Creation of Gender Consciousness: Social Movements As Socialization Agents." Orit Ichilov, Ed., *Political Socialization, Citizenship, Education, and Democracy*. New York: Teachers College.
- Webler, T., & Tuler, S. (2000). "Fairness and Competence in Citizen Participation: Theoretical Reflections from a Case Study." *Administration & Society* 32:566-595.
- Webler, Thomas, and Ortwin Renn. 1995. "A Brief Primer on Participation: Philosophy and Practice." In Ortwin Renn, Thomas Webler, and Peter Wiedmann, eds., *Fairness and Competence in Citizen Participation* (pp. 17-33). Boston: Kluwer Academic.

JANUARY 17 DELIBERATIVE POLLING

Required readings

- Eveland Jr., William P. 2004. "The Effect of Political Discussion in Producing Informed Citizens: The Roles of Information, Motivation, and Elaboration." *Political Communication* 21: 177-193.
- Fishkin, James, and Cynthia Farrar. 2005. *Deliberative Polling: From Experiment to Community Resource*. In Gastil, John, and Peter Levine, Editors, *The Deliberative Democracy Handbook*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Hansen, Kasper M., and Vibeke Normann Andersen. 2004. "Deliberative Democracy and the Deliberative Poll on the Euro." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 27: 261-286.
- Kuran, Timur. 1998. "Insincere Deliberation and Democratic Failure." *Critical Review* 12:529-44.
- Luskin, Robert C., James S. Fishkin, and Roger Jowell. 2002. "Considered Opinions: Deliberative Polling in Britain." *British Journal of Political Science* 32: 455-487.
- Sturgis, Patrick, Caroline Roberts, and Nick Allum. 2005. "A Different Take on the Deliberative Poll - Information, Deliberation, and Attitude Constraint." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 69: 30-65.

Further reading

- Barabas, Jason. 2004. "How Deliberation Affects Policy Opinions." *American Political Science Review* 98: 687-701.
- Becker, Ted, and Christa Slaton. 1981. "Hawaii Televote: Measuring Public Opinion on Complex Policy Issues." *Political Science* 33: 52-65.
- Denver, D., Gordon Hands, & Bill Jones. 1995. "Fishkin and the Deliberative Opinion Poll: Lessons from a Study of the Granada 500 Television Program." *Political Communication*, 12, 147-156.
- Dutwin, David. 2003. "The Character of Deliberation: Equality, Argument, and the Formation of Public Opinion." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 15: 239-264.
- Fishkin, James S., and Robert C. Luskin. 1999. "Making Deliberative Democracy Work: A Reply to Elkin, Lustig, and Sanders." *The Good Society* 9: 22-29.
- Fishkin, James S. 1991. *Democracy and Deliberation: New Directions for Democratic Reform*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Fishkin, James S. 1995. *The voice of the people*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Fishkin, James S., and Robert C. Luskin. 1999. "Bringing Deliberation to the Democratic Dialogue." Maxwell McCombs, Amy Reynolds, and Eds., *The Poll With a Human Face: The National Issues Convention Experiment in Political Communication*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Lustig, Jeff. 1999. "Experiment in Democracy; or, Trouble in the Deliberated Zone." *The Good Society* 9: 17-22.
- McCombs, M., Reynolds, A., & Eds. (1999). *The poll with a human face: The National Issues Convention experiment in political communication*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Mitofsky, Warren J. 1996. "The Emperor Has No Clothes." *The Public Perspective* 7(3):17-19.
- Moskowitz, Adam N., and Craig J. Jenkins. 2004. "Structuring Political Opinions: Attitude Consistency and Democratic Competence Among the U.S. Mass Public." *The Sociological Quarterly* 45: 395-419.
- Various articles before and after the National Issues Convention published in *The Public Perspective*, Volume 7, Issues 1 & 3.
- Various papers posted online at the Center for Deliberative Democracy website--
<http://cdd.stanford.edu/research/index.html>.

JANUARY 19 DELIBERATIVE ELECTIONS AND WA-CIR

Required readings

- Description of CIR at <http://www.cirwa.org>.
- Lipsitz, Keena. 2004. "Democratic Theory and Political Campaigns." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 12: 163-189.
- Luskin, Robert C., James S. Fishkin, Ian McAllister, John Higley and Pamela Ryan. (no date). *Deliberation and Referendum Voting*. Available at <http://cdd.stanford.edu/research/index.html>.
- Smith, Mark A. 2002. "Ballot Initiatives and the Democratic Citizen." *Journal of Politics* 64:892-903.
- Stewart, David. 2003. "Referendum Democracy: Citizens, Elites, and Deliberation in Referendum Campaigns." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 36: 458-459.

Further reading

- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Shanto Iyengar. 1994. "On Horseshoes and Horse Races: Experimental Studies of the Impact of Poll Results on Electoral Behavior." *Political Communication* 11:413-30.
- Bowler, Shaun, and Todd Donovan. 1994. "Information and Opinion Change on Ballot Propositions." *Political Behavior* 16:411-35.
- Bowler, Shaun, Todd Donovan, and Trudi Happ. 1992. "Ballot Propositions and Information Costs: Direct Democracy and the Fatigued Voter." *Western Political Quarterly* 45:559-68.

- Chaffee, Steven H., Melissa Nichos Saphir, Joseph Graf, Christian Sandvig, and Kyu Sup Hahn. 2001. "Attention to Counter-Attitudinal Messages in a State Election Campaign." *Political Communication* 18:247-72.
- deVreese, Claes, and Holli A. Semetko. 2002. "Cynical and Engaged - Strategic Campaign Coverage, Public Opinion, and Mobilization in a Referendum." *Communication Research* 29: 615-641.
- Forehand, Mark, John Gastil, and Mark A. Smith. 2004. "Endorsements As Voting Cues: Heuristic and Systematic Processing in Initiative Elections." *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 34: 2215-2233.
- Engstrom, Richard L., and Victoria M. Caridas. 1991. "Voting for Judges: Race and Roll-Off in Judicial Elections." William Croty, *Political Participation and American Democracy*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Ernst, Howard R. 2001. "The Historical Role of Narrow-Material Interests in Initiative Politics." Larry J. Sabato, Howard R. Ernst, and Bruce A. Larson, *Dangerous Democracy? The Battle Over Ballot Initiatives in America*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Gastil, John, Mark A. Smith, and Cindy Simmons. 2001. "There's More Than One Way to Legislate: An Integration of Representative, Direct, and Deliberative Approaches to Democratic Governance." *University of Colorado Law Review* 72:1005-28.
- Gastil, John. 2000. *By Popular Demand: Revitalizing Representative Democracy Through Deliberative Elections*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hoffman, Tom. 1998. "Rationality Reconciled: The Mass Electorate and Democratic Theory." *Critical Review* 12:459-80.
- Huckfeldt, Robert, John Sprague, and Jeffrey Levine. 2000. "The Dynamics of Collective Deliberation in the 1996 Election: Campaign Effects on Accessibility, Certainty, and Accuracy." *American Political Science Review* 94:641-.
- Matsusaka, John G. 2004. *For the Many or the Few: The Initiative, Public Policy, and American Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mueller, J. 1992. "Democracy and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery: Elections, Equality, and the Minimal Human Being." *American Journal of Political Science* 36:983-1003.
- O'Leary, Kevin. 1996. "21st Century Democracy: Local Legislative Assemblies." *The Good Society* 6(3): 28-34.
- Plutzer, Eric, and John F. Zipp. 1996. "Identity Politics, Partisanship, and Voting for Women Candidates." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 60:30-57.
- Somin, Ilya. 1998. "Voter Ignorance and the Democratic Ideal." *Critical Review* 12:413-58.
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FEBRUARY 28 MACRO DELIBERATION: BRINGING TOGETHER DIFFERENT DELIBERATIVE FORMS

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ARTICLES USING EXISTING DATASETS

Project A1: Gender and a student discussion of sexual harassment

Sager, Kevin L., and John Gastil. 2002. "Exploring the Psychological Foundations of Democratic Group Deliberation: Personality Factors, Confirming Interaction, and Democratic Decision Making." *Communication Research Reports* 19:56-65. [in John's office]

Gastil, J., & Sawyer, K. (2004, February). *When process matters: An exploration of different approaches to operationalizing public deliberation*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Western States Communication Association, Albuquerque, NM. [in packet]

Project A2: Novel dataset derived from previous deliberative polls.

Project A3: Citizen deliberation on initiatives

Gastil, J., & Crosby, N. (2003, November 6). Voters need more reliable information. *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. Available at: http://seattlepi.nwsourc.com/opinion/147013_uninformed06.html

Project B1-2: Juries

Gastil, J., & Weiser, P. (2005). Jury Service As an Invitation to Citizenship: Assessing the Civic Value of Institutionalized Deliberation. Paper submitted for the 2006 American Political Science Association conference in Philadelphia, PA. Available at <http://depts.washington.edu/jurydem/writings.html>.

Gastil, J., Leichter, J., Black, L., & Deess, E. P. (2005, November). From small group member to citizen: Measuring the impact of jury deliberation on citizen identity and civic norms. Paper to be presented at the annual conference of the National Communication Association, Boston, MA. <http://depts.washington.edu/jurydem/writings.html>.

Project B3: Novel dataset derived from Jan 2006 focus groups; also, this seminar project may yield a research proposal rather than a data analytic paper.

Project B4: Novel project, possibly a critical literature review or other analysis, or perhaps utilizing existing datasets.